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27 October 1976

TRANSLATIONS ON EASTERN EUROPE
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1311



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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

ROMANIAN HISTORIAN REFUTES HUNGARIAN VIEWS ON DACIANS

Bucharest REVISTA DE ISTORIE in Romanian No 8, Aug 76 pp 1231-1235

[Article by Academician Const C. Giurescu: "Reply to the 'Little Spell' of a Quack of Hungarian Historiography"]

[Excerpts] Laszlo Makkai attempts to respond--under the title "Little Professional Spell: in TORTENELMI SZEMLE (No 4/1975), organ of the Institute of History of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences-- to the criticism which I directed to the part about the Dacians, the Daco-Romans, and the ancient Romanians ["Straromani"] in the two volumes of "Histoire de La Hongrie" [The History of Hungary], published in Paris and London in 1974 and 1975. We know that in historiography--as in science in general--spells, just as miracles, have little influence. The case of Makkai confirms the rule. If I respond to this, I am doing so because it is a case once again of a "method" characteristic of a part of Hungarian historiography in regard to the antiquity and continuity of the Romanian element in Transylvania. Once more there comes to light the way in which the majority of exponents of contemporary Hungarian historiography--and those of the 19th century also--proceed, in opposition to the older lucid Hungarian historians. The "method" of these exponents is simple: Everything which does not agree--both sources and arguments--with the preconceived thesis is passed over in silence. When the matter is no longer possible, it is distorted so that the thesis is not disturbed.

To combat the right of the Romanians to Transylvania--a right based on antiquity, continuity, number, work, and two international acknowledgements, the treaties of 1920 and 1947--the Hungarian historians have invented a threefold thesis: 1) the disappearance of the Dacian population after the wars with the Romans, at the time of Decebal and Trajan, 2) the departure from Dacia of the Roman colonists during the time of the empire of Aurelian, in 271 AD, and 3) even if some vestiges of the Romanian population might have remained in Dacia, they disappeared during the following centuries in the middle of the migrators. The conclusion of this threefold thesis is: at the moment in which the Hungarian migrators occupied

Transylvania, they did not find even a trace of the Romanian population; it appears late, at the beginning of the 13th century and is the result of a slow infiltration of Wallachian shepherds, with their herds, shepherds who, having a diet rich in proteins--milk, cheese, oil, cream--¹ multiplied considerably and surpassed the Hungarians in number.

This threefold thesis does not have any scientific value; it is contradicted not only by clear and incontestable historic sources but also by historic logic, that is, in the final analysis, by good sense.

Let us examine the value of this threefold thesis. 1) In regard to the disappearance of the Dacian population, after the wars with the Romanians, we find that Makkai seems to retreat since he asserts "the text of *"Histoire de La Hongrie"* [History of Hungary] admits that a Dacian population could have remained in the valleys of Dacia." This recognition of the existence of a Dacian population in Dacia after the wars with the Romans would have been progress if the acknowledgement had not been cancelled out by what follows in the same *"History of Hungary:"* "The survival of the Dacian people must have been profoundly compromised since the mountainous regions, once very densely populated, were literally emptied; in the area of the decimated cities, agriculture disappeared so that the archeologists could not discover any trace of life. One does not know for sure if we should see Dacians even in the population of the river valleys." ²

This thesis of the disappearance of the Dacian people is contradicted by the following facts: a) If one were to admit the impossible situation in which all the Dacian men, in the cities and villages, disappeared as a result of the wars, the wives and children, three-fourths of the initial Dacian population, still remained. Makkai does not respond to this argument and obviously he cannot respond to it. Does he imagine that the Romans killed the wives and children of the Dacians?; b) I pointed out that the thesis of the disappearance of the Dacian male population is countered by the fact that there were at least 10 corps of Dacian troops, incorporated in the Roman army and fighting in different provinces of the empire. Makkai cannot contest this fact but he gives the following surprising explanation--these troops "were formed, probably for security reasons, of Dacians sent far from their country."³ It is understandable that the Romans would send these young troops away from Dacia but that is not the matter under discussion; the issue is the fact that such corps existed and that they were formed of young Dacians, from Dacia--which Makkai cannot contest; c) Trajan's Column, a document of special importance for a knowledge of the events of the time of the wars between the Dacians and the Romans, shows in no less than seven scenes, groups of Dacians, submitting to the Romans, along with their wives and children. It is evident that after this submission, the Dacians continued to live in Dacia, either in their old houses or in new ones; the Romans needed them as farmers and animal raisers, as workers, as future contributors and future soldiers.

Makkai believes that the prisoners taken to Rome came from among these Dacians; as an argument for this absurd opinion he cites page 389 of "Istoria Romaniei" [The History of Romania], first volume, published in 1960. I state, however, that the exact opposite is said on that page. Why does Makkai hoax the reader, making him believe inaccurate things and citing texts which say the complete opposite? How can such a procedure be described? d) An important argument in support of the existence of a Dacian population in the Roman province of Dacia is the fact that there were repeated revolts of this population. Makkai does not accord any importance to this argument and asserts that these riots "do not prove anything in connection with the survival of the Dacian population." As an argument in support of his thesis, he cites a passage from "The History of Romania," I, p 432, in which it is stated that the fourth revolt, in the time of Marcus Aurelius, was a "powerful revolt of the indigenous peasantry, exploited in the country by a rural aristocracy." Then Makkai adds: it is not a question of a "war of liberation of the Dacians against the Roman conquerors." The fact that the indigenous pursued the elimination of the Roman domination or rather, the improvement of their socioeconomic situation is another problem. The matter of interest in the discussion is the existence of a Dacian peasantry in the Roman province of Dacia and this is clear in the quotation which Makkai reproduces, believing it to be an argument against this existence. The Hungarian does not know the special work of D. Tudor about "Rascoale Si Atacuri 'Barbare' in Dacia Romana" [Barbarous Attacks and Revolts in Roman Dacia], Bucharest, 1957, or if he knows it, he does not cite it because it cancels out his opinion on these revolts. He confines himself to two isolated sentences from "The History of Romania," I, pp 430 and 432, one of which is actually a proof of the existence of the Dacian population in the Roman province as we pointed out above and the other includes the assertion that "literary accounts do not make any direct mention of the revolts in Dacia at the time of these events" that is during the years 117 and 118. But Makkai does not mention documentation on the basis of other sources, such as the Egyptian papyrus which, referring to the Danube war of Hadrian, in the years mentioned, calls this war Dacian or the funeral inscription of C. Iulius Quadratus Bassus which points out that he died "fighting in Dacia." I invite Makkai to read the conclusion of the pages of "The History of Romania" referring to the revolts in Dacia. Here is the conclusion (Volume I, p 433): "All the reports speak clearly about the mass revolts of the population in Dacia, which took place simultaneously with the penetration of the barbarous peoples from abroad on Romanian territory." Has not Makkai read these passages from "The History of Romania" which he invokes to support his opinion about the absence of an indigenous, Dacian population in the Roman province of Dacia?

Why does Makkai persist in convincing the reader that there was no Dacian population after the conquest? Because he realizes that the existence of such a population, that is, of an indigenous people, tied to the land which it has cultivated for at least two millenia, render impossible the theory, dear to a part of Hungarian historiography, of the departure from Dacia

during the time of the empire of Aurelian (270-275). I pointed out in my review that the persistence of the Dacian element in the province of Dacia should be considered in the light of the similar situation in the other Roman provinces such as Gaul and Spain. Did the Gallic population disappear from Gaul or the Iberian population from Spain after the Roman conquest? No one has maintained such an enormity. Then why would the Dacian population disappear from Dacia? Historic sources and good sense show that it continued to exist and to exercise its essential, traditional pursuits as it continued to exist under the later domination of the migrants, beginning with the Goths and ending with the tartars. In conclusion, the largest part of the Dacian population of the Carpathian-Danubian territory--at the least, three-quarters of them--continued to exist after the conquest of Dacia by the Romans and its transformation into an imperial province.

Points 2 and 3. In regard to the continuity of the Dacian-Roman population in Dacia after the departure of the Roman army and administration from the province, Makkai proceeds in the same manner as he did in regard to the continuity of the Dacian population after the wars between Decebal and Trajan. That is, he does not mention arguments favorable to continuity or interprets them in an unfavorable sense, on the basis of a preconceived thesis. For example, inscriptions in the Latin language, from the 4th century, were found in Transylvania, after the departure from the province. For Makkai, they do not prove anything, since "they could come from anywhere." Also Roman ceramics artifacts have been found but, according to Makkai, neither coins nor ceramics prove the presence of the Dacian-Romans in Dacia after the departure of the legions, but--he adds prudently--"neither do they refute this presence."

Did the Roman population disappear from Gaul and Spain after the departure of the Roman legions and administration? Makkai does not mention a word about this comparison.

We come, in conclusion, to the old Hungarian chronicle written by the anonymous notary of King Bela. This notary, without a bit of prudence and Hungarian patriotism, makes mention, in black and white, of the Romanians in Transylvania and their duke--that is, their voivode--Gelou; he also mentions the Romanian weapons and the furious struggles which they carried on against Tuhutum, the commander of the Hungarians.⁴ What do we do with this extremely boring testimony which destroys the whole Hungarian theory about the nonexistence of Romanians in Transylvania at the time of the coming of the Hungarians? First of all, we state that the notary writes at the beginning of the 13 century, while King Bela III reigns between 1173 and 1196 (not to mention Bela II (1131-1141) as some researchers believe). Then we consider the entire passage about the Romanians and their duke, Gelou, as a later interpolation; finally, when internal criticism shows that it cannot be an interpolation, we decree as "fairy tales" the assertions of the notary whose method should be "exposed."

The fact that the most important Hungarian historian of the World War II period, Balint Homan, considers the writings of the anonymous notary about the occupation of the country in 896-900 as "a careful compilation from a strategic and geographic point of view" showing "a penetrating criticism," "methodical reflections" and "solid" knowledge⁶ has no importance for Makkai. What is curious is that the "fairy tales" of the notary are taken seriously when it is a question of other events besides those which refer to the vexacious presence of the Romanians and of Gelou in Transylvania. Thus, a total disavowal--when he is the author of "fairy tales"-- of the unfortunate anonymous author! When will his statue in Budapest be demolished?

Unfortunately for Hungarian historiography, he is not the only anonymous notary who tells of the presence of the "Vlachs," that is, of the Romanians in Transylvania. There is also the oldest Russian chronicle, the Chronicle of Kiev, said to be by Nestor, which says that the Hungarians, after they crossed the high mountains--the Carpathians--"Began to fight with the Romanians (Volohii) and with the Slavs who lived there."⁷ Does the Russian chronicle tell fairy tales also?⁸

FOOTNOTES

1. Let us not let the reader think that the explanation for the increase in the Romanian population is an amusing invention. It is written, in black and white, in a 1963 ethnographic publication of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.
2. "Histoire de La Hongrie," 1974, p 20.
3. Makkai, article cited.
4. "Gesta Hungarorum" [sic], G. Popa-Lisseanu edition, Bucharest, 1934, p 244.
5. In his work "Histoire de la Transylvanie," published in 1946, Makkai considered that the anonymous notary wrote the work "around 1200" and added--a very valuable conclusion--that "the modern criticism of the sources has succeeded in explaining in an incontestable manner that the information on the Hungarian conquest of Transylvania supplied by the chronicles and by the anonymous notary come from an early "Gesta Ung Arorum," a work composed at the end of the 11th century, that is, at a date relatively close to the respective events" (p 36). In this case it seems that the indications of the anonymous notary are not "fairy tales." If it were not for the existence of the disturbing chapter about the Romanians and their voivode Gelou, certainly contemporary Hungarian historiography would place all its confidence in the data of the anonymous writer.

6. Balint Homan, "Geschichte des Ungarischen Mittelalters," I, Berlin, 1940, pp 409-413.
7. "Povest vremennih let," I, Moscow-Leningrad, 1950, p 217.
8. As for the explanation given by some Hungarian authors of our days that by "Volohii" the Russian Chronicles mean the Franks, this is inadmissible because the Franks never reached Transylvania, Crisana, or the Banat.

CSO: 2700

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

SED GROUP IN POLAND--At the invitation of the PZPR Central Committee a group of SED activists led by Fritz Mueller, Central Committee member and head of the SED Cadres Department, was in Poland from 28 September to 3 October 1976. The SED activists familiarized themselves with the experiences of the party bodies and party organizations and held talks in the PZPR Central Committee Cadres Department, mainly on the subject of the selection and system of additional training of managerial cadres, sharing at the same time their own experiences in this field. The guests also were in Krakow Voivodship. The SED delegation was received by the PZPR Central Committee secretary, Zdzislaw Zandarowski. The head of the PZPR Central Committee Cadres Department, Zygmunt Stepien, participated in the meeting. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 4 Oct 76 p 4]

CSO: 2600

ALBANIA

DEFENSE UNDER DIRECT PARTY CONTROL IN NEW CONSTITUTION

Tirana DREJTESIA POPULLORE in Albanian No 2, Apr-Jun 76 pp 38-47

[Article by Fiqret Shehu: "The Leading Role of the Party in the System of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat and Our New Draft Constitution"]

[Excerpts] The sanctioning in the draft constitution of the leadership role of the party in the armed forces and of the organizational form for the implementation of this role, in the highest instance, by the establishment of the fact that the first secretary of the Central Committee of the Albanian Workers Party is the general commander of the armed forces and the chairman of the Defense Council has extraordinary importance for the fate of socialism in our country. The establishment of such affect of an organizational nature has, in itself, a profoundly ideological content. Its intent is that the defense of the homeland and of the victories of socialism, which is one of the basic duties of the dictatorship of the proletariat, is to be under the direct leadership of the first secretary of the Central Committee of the party. This is in addition to the other means which the party uses to carry out its leadership in the armed forces, just as in all sectors of life in the country (by means of its ideological line, by means of basic party organs and organizations, by means of all communists, and by means of faithful cadres, resolute in regard to the matter of socialism, determined to implement the line, ideology, and directives of the party, determined to implement the revolutionary military science of the People's Struggle).

This means that the political and military line and the directives and guidelines of the party for the people's army and for the other armed forces are found in the highest organ created especially for the direction, organization, and mobilization of all forces and resources of the country for the defense of the fatherland--in the Defense Council--directly under the leadership of the party. This also means that everything which has to do with the protection of the dictatorship of the proletariat and of our entire socialist system from domestic and foreign enemies, is managed and controlled directly by the first secretary of the Central Committee of the party. This article and all the other articles which reflect the teachings of the party and of Comrade Enver Hoxha in regard to the defense of the country and the armed forces aim at preserving the popular, revolutionary character of the army of our dictatorship

of the proletariat and at making the armed forces of our socialist state always faithful and sharp weapons of the working class and of all the working masses so that they may never change their character and become blind tools of the counterrevolution. Positive and negative experience, both on the national and international level, has shown that in order for the army to become an arm of the revolution it is necessary to insure the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist party, the implementation of its line and ideology, and the placing of proletarian policy on the first plane. The articles of the new constitution which treat the issues of defense and the armed forces, which are based on the rich and multilateral experience of our party in regard to this important matter, which keep in mind the teachings and conclusions of the fifth and sixth plenums of the Central Committee of the party, are aimed at the avoidance of that bitter tragedy which took place in the Soviet Union where the army and the other armed forces have become blind tools of the counterrevolution and are now being used by the new Soviet bourgeois dictatorship and by the fascist and socialimperialist Soviet state to exercise force against the Soviet workers and other peoples in the interest of the new bureaucratic bourgeoisie.

CSO: 2100

BULGARIA

ANGOLAN TRADE UNION LEADER ON COOPERATION WITH BULGARIA

Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 21 Sep 76 pp 1, 4

[Interview with Aristides van Dunen, UNTA secretary general, conducted by Yosif Davidov: "Angola's Path"]

[Text] The delegation of the National Union of Angolan Working People, led by Aristides van Dunen, which had visited our country on the invitation of the Central Council of Bulgarian Trade Unions, left yesterday.

At the airport the guests were seen off by Misho Mishev, chairman, Central Council of Bulgarian Trade Unions.

The National Union of Angolan Working People (UNTA) was created in December 1960. As an illegal but class-oriented trade union organization, it organized a number of strikes and demonstrations. On 22 December 1974 the decision on the unification of all trade unions was taken in Luso, the capital of Moxico Province. The national conference of the association was held from 27 to 30 October 1975 in Luanda. UNTA, a member of the World Federation of Trade Unions, consists of 19 sectorial trade unions.

We knew all this. At the request of TRUD, the Bulgarian journalist Todor Kyuranov had met Aristides van Dunen, UNTA secretary general, in Angola, and their conversation had been published in our newspaper at the beginning of February 1976. At the end of the interview, Comrade van Dunen expressed his thanks, through the newspaper TRUD, to the Bulgarian people, and to the Bulgarian trade unions for the aid and support they are providing their Angolan brothers.

A few minutes following the conclusion of the official talks between the Angolan trade union delegation led by him and the delegation of the Central Council of Bulgarian Trade Unions, headed by Comrade Misho Mishev, I asked Comrade van Dunen whether cooperation between the two organizations had intensified in the past 8 months.

[Answer] The long cooperation between the Bulgarian trade unions and the UNTA can only be confirmed by the documents we have signed. Currently, in our case, the question of cadres is a basic one. Many of our trade union leaders have been trained at the world famous Georgi Dimitrov School of the Central Council of Bulgarian Trade Unions. This will continue in the future as well. Furthermore, our instructors in trade union problems will also be trained in Bulgaria.

We know from personal experience that cooperation between the trade unions of the socialist countries and those of the oppressed peoples is an expression of international solidarity, tangibly felt by the Angolan working people and the entire Angolan nation. That is why, following the proclamation of our independence, we assumed a new responsibility: to struggle not only for the rebuilding of our country, but to provide aid and support to the oppressed peoples of Namibiya, Zimbabwe, and the Republic of South Africa.

[Question] Comrade van Dunen, clearly major changes have taken place in Angola following the liberation and even after your initial statement published in TRUD. What is the most characteristic feature of these changes?

[Answer] Indeed, radical changes took place in our country. The MPLA program was adopted by the entire people, by the working people and by the UNTA, their trade union organization. Both the MPLA and UNTA programs have the same objective. To us, working people and trade unions, the nationalization, proclaimed on 1 May 1976, still under way, was exceptionally important. This determines the new nature of our struggle. We have new tasks, the more so since we have categorically proclaimed that we shall follow the path of socialism. Another substantial feature of the new life is free education and free medical aid. We have also begun to build housing for the entire nation. It is impossible to enumerate all changes. However, let us not forget the fact that in our country in which most of the population inhabits rural areas, we have expropriated most big landownership. Some of the estates will be converted into state farms, and others into cooperatives.

[Question] How, in this connection, are the Angolan working people responding to the MPLA program which calls for struggle for the elimination of the exploitation of man by man and for the establishment of a socialist society in the country? How do the Angolan people view the fact that the MPLA and UNTA formulate far greater social tasks for the national liberation revolution?

[Answer] We have already been able to understand the way in which the Angolan working people are accepting the changes. In the course

of our second struggle for liberation, when Angola was the target of aggression on the part of domestic and international relations, we experienced great difficulties. A fierce front was organized against us. In order to achieve victory, it was absolutely necessary for the working people to remain in their jobs and increase productivity. Comrade President Agostinho Neto raised the slogan of "To produce means to fight." These were complex times. The enterprises had not been nationalized. We lived, so to say, side by side with capitalism. The working people adopted the MPLA slogan. They worked with dedication. Following the initial nationalizations, the UNTA launched extensive explanatory work among the toiling masses, explaining the new relations and the fact that now we were producing for ourselves. In other words, we depicted the essence of socialism -- the fact that socialism creates prosperity for the people and that in a socialist society the working person depends on his own labor. We are trying to make clear that the rebuilding of our country and the building of a socialist society require the selfless toil of all. Only through work could we rebuild destroyed bridges, guarantee pensions for all, and protect people from labor accidents. Bearing in mind the activeness of the toiling strata, we decided to go further. We are explaining the fact that enterprises that are not nationalized yet should not give us trouble. We should tolerate them provided that their output is directed toward the satisfaction of the needs of the people and helps the nationalized sector.

[Question] Obviously these are many and difficult tasks. This complex approach requires the total trust of the toiling masses.

[Answer] Precisely. Even though the present phase is merely an embryo of what we are yet to accomplish, we clearly realize that the solution of a number of Angolan problems requires not only the support of the people's masses, but their reeducation as well.

[Question] Comrade van Dunen, it is clear to me that what you are doing now in Angola is quite similar to that which the communists, the working class, and the entire nation in the Soviet Union, in Bulgaria, and in the other socialist countries accomplished in the first years following the liberation. I am tempted to ask you as a revolutionary and member of the MPLA Central Committee, and as the secretary general of the class trade union organization of the Angolan working people: What is your opinion concerning patriotism and internationalism?

[Answer] I am not an extremist, but I think that patriotism is something more limited. At this point a worker feels far greater ties with a worker from another country, sharing the same ideology, than with a citizen of his own country supporting a reactionary ideology. To us there should be no borders. On the basis of this principle, the MPLA, our political organization, and the UNTA, our trade union organization,

constantly prove that we must not promote unity for unity's sake. No, we favor unity on a class basis. People must be linked by ideology, by a similar way of life.

[Question] What would you say in conclusion?

[Answer] Today it is clearer than ever that the Bulgarian and Angolan peoples and their working people and trade unions will march shoulder to shoulder in the great battle for the transformation of man, for his prosperity, and for world peace.

5003

CSO: 2200

PLOJHAR DISCUSSES USEFULNESS OF NATIONAL FRONT

Prague TRIBUNA in Czech No 35, 25 Aug 76 p 3

[Article by Dr Josef Plojhar, honorary chairman, Czechoslovak People's Party]

[Text] The idea of the National Front was not born from one day to the next, but grew out of historical roots, of long-term experiences of the people and from past traditions. Actually, its first outlines began to appear already under the pre-Munich republic, namely in the thirties when the CPCZ embarked on an energetic and purposeful struggle for the creation of a united front to defend the republic against the increasing danger of fascist aggression.

When in April 1936 Klement Gottwald spoke at the Seventh CPCZ Congress about the danger which confronted the Czechoslovak state he pointed out that the Czech reactionaries would sell out the country to Hitler if allowed free reign. He specifically stressed that it would take a united front of the working class, of other workers and a popular front government to organize the defense of the republic against fascism.

The Birth of the National Front

In the days of Munich during the hours of the Nazi invasion into the remnants of mutilated Czechoslovakia and in subsequent months and years of the occupation, our citizens found out from their own experience that the communists assessed correctly the situation and developments in Europe, that their warnings about the Nazi appetite for conquest and the perfidious policy of the governing bourgeoisie were correct. They could also convince themselves that the communists were the most aware and courageous fighters against fascism. They realized that the Soviet Union was and would remain the only true friend and ally of Czechoslovakia.

The communists never stopped trying to unify all honest patriots and anti-fascists even during the most difficult times. The broad masses of the

public then gradually became conscious of the fact that the unity of the people was a source of power important not only in the fight against the Nazi occupiers but also in time of peace when decisions about the future domestic and foreign orientation of Czechoslovakia will be taken.

When therefore the National Front was established as a political organ in March 1945 in Moscow, it was not a step taken in a vacuum. The founding of the National Front as an institution reflected the existing level of the political maturation of the population and was in full accord with its wish that the unity displayed during the difficult times of war be of help also in the building of a peaceful life.

The very birth of the National Front has demonstrated that the CPCZ represented its driving force. The first problem which the National Front had to solve was the composition of the first government and the preparation of its program which subsequently entered into history as the Kosice Government Program. This document was prepared on the basis of a proposal submitted by the CPCZ. No other political party was able to come up with an integrated conception of the tasks of the new government.

The policy of the National Front inspired by the communists created the conditions for the fulfillment of the tasks of the national and democratic revolution in our country, for the participation of the broad masses of the population in the peaceful reconstruction of the national economy and the administration of the state, cities and obeces.

The National Front in February 1948

The accomplished progress of course did not please the exponents of right-wing forces who took refuge in non-communist parties. They gradually became active, obstructed the implementation of the government program, captured the leadership of some political parties and waited for the opportunity to stop the process of progressive changes. They thought that their opportunity came in February 1948. They tried to paralyze the functioning of the government, install a government of bureaucrats and bring about a counterrevolution.

But in their intentions and plans, the reactionaries failed to take into account the opinion and attitude of the people. Our workers rejected the reactionary machinations and resolutely backed the policy of the CPCZ which called for the acceptance of the resignation of reactionary ministers by the president of the republic and for the government of Klement Gottwald to be completed by new members loyal to the people. The government crisis was, as is known, resolved in this democratic and constitutional manner.

The character of the National Front also changed during the February days of 1948. Action committees assumed the leadership of non-communist political parties and of some other organizations. The central action committee of the National Front became the top organization of the reborn political

parties and social organizations. As vice-chairman of this organ at that time I can confirm that the return of the original intent and spirit of the National Front as it evolved at the time of the struggle against fascism contributed markedly to the strengthening of the action potential of the National Front and to its increased participation in the solution of the tasks of the building of socialism.

In November 1948, Klement Gottwald announced that "the reborn National Front, in which the reactionaries had no legal platform and stand as was the case until February, would remain also in the future the political formation of our public life on its road to socialism." The history of the following decades demonstrated that the National Front in fact remained such an important formation.

An Unsuccessful Attempt at Reversal

Toward the end of the sixties, the right-wing and antisocialist forces tried to transform the National Front into a group which would deny the communist party the leading role in our society and make room for a so-called pluralistic political system. In this way our evolution was to be turned back to the time before 1948 and in some respects even to the times of the pre-Munich republic.

But also this attack of the right-wing forces foundered and the consolidated National Front could embark on the fulfillment of its mission in our society with renewed vigor. The 15th CPCZ Congress stressed that the activity of the National Front increased and its position in society was strengthened since the 14th Congress. It expressed its appreciation to individual social organizations and observed that communists also valued the positive contributions of the other political parties.

A Tried and Proven Form

In his report to the congress, G. Husak stated that the National Front is the political expression of the class unity of workers, farmers and intelligentsia, of all working people, an expression of the international community of our nations and nationalities. He stressed that we viewed the National Front as the proven form of our political system for the future as well.

Each of the organizations of the National Front has its specific mission. The Revolutionary Trade Union Movement which unites some 6 million workers is developing their inexhaustible creative initiative, educating them to develop a responsible attitude toward work, and caring for the systematic improvement of their working and living conditions. The youth organization in turn offers ample opportunities for the utilization of the natural activity of youth and contributes to the political and moral growth of the young generation. The Union of Czechoslovak Women solves tasks connected with the involvement of women in social and political life. The Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship League acquaints the broad public with the life

and work of the Soviet people. We can equally point to the special mission of some other organizations united in the National Front.

But in addition to these specific tasks which differentiate individual organizations of the National Front, there exists a wide spectrum of important tasks common to the entire National Front.

The 15th CPCZ Congress has become the most important event of the current year. It assessed the development of our socialist society in the first half of the seventies. It expressed its appreciation of the positive results which we have achieved but pointed out also the shortcomings which still exist in our country. It formulated the tasks for the coming period on the basis of a detailed analysis of the hitherto achieved expansion. This congress is of fundamental importance to our entire society because it set the principal directions of its further development.

Goals and Tasks

All organizations of the National Front therefore set for themselves the task of acquainting their members with the resolutions of the 15th CPCZ Congress. The difficulty of this task lies in the fact that the point is not to make people passively listen to a series of reports or lectures or induce them to read pamphlets, but to clarify for them what contributions the congress resolutions are making to their future life and how they themselves can contribute to the fulfillment of these intentions in practice.

Let us for example take a look at the goals and tasks of the economic and social policy of the CPCZ. The resolutions of the 15th congress indicate that during the second half of the seventies the national income of the country will rise by 27 to 29 percent with nine-tenth of this rise obtained by a rise in the productivity of labor. A further dynamic increase of industrial production and shifts in its structure are expected. In the course of a few years, agriculture is expected to attain self-sufficiency in the production of grains and increase further self-sufficiency in the overall production of foodstuffs. The extent of capital investment is indicated by the allocation of about Kcs 800 billion for this purpose in the Sixth Five-Year Plan. The expansion of material production and increased economy will create conditions for a further increase of the material and cultural standard of our life.

This comprehensive outline of future economic developments represents an intention which can be converted into reality in time only by the creative work of the people. Work by people who will not be satisfied with yesterday's successes but will look towards increased future expectations. Work by people who will energetically seek new solutions, search for ways to save fuel, energy and materials, fight for improved quality and efficiency and who in this way will by concrete deeds clear the path for highly efficient economic expansion. Our plans will be realized by people who will

be able to reach maximum gains for our entire society with a minimum of material means.

And it is specifically the organizations of the National Front which can and must play a decisive role in mobilizing this creative initiative of the citizens.

The National Front Before Elections

The second most important event of the current year will be the elections for legislative assemblies and national committees at all levels which will be held this coming fall. In the preelection campaign individual organs will render accounts to their voters. We can claim that the election programs of the National Front submitted to the voters by deputies in 1971 were not only fulfilled in the absolute majority of cities and villages but, in many important respects, were even exceeded. The voters convinced themselves that election programs are not a list of pleasing promises but a carefully thought out and realistic plan of future tasks.

And it will be the same this year. The election programs under preparation are based on the resolutions of the 15th CPCZ Congress and on the Sixth Five-Year Plan. They comprise only tasks whose fulfillment is guaranteed by respective plans. But they still demonstrate that in the coming election period many an acute problem will be resolved and that further improvement will be achieved in meeting the needs of the people.

Incidentally, let us mention that in the Sixth Five-Year Plan retail turnover will increase roughly by one-fourth, the supply of the most varied types of goods will improve and, on this basis, the consumption by the population will register a further increase. More progress will be made in the solution of the housing problem because 640,000 apartments will become ready for occupancy. Care for workers, families with children and senior citizens will improve further. An improvement in health services and expansion of educational opportunities is also expected.

The candidates will therefore come before the voters with a solid program based on our economic possibilities which insures the fulfillment of the legitimate demands of the population in cities and obeces.

Now it will be up to the entire National Front and all its organizations to help acquaint voters with these intentions not only to win them over for individual candidates but also for active participation in the implementation of the election programs. Because we are concerned not only with winning the citizens' approval for the candidate and the election program, but with gaining their support of the deputy and their effective assistance in the fulfillment of the election program. We consider this to be an important aspect of the deep-rooted democratic nature of our election system and of our political system in general.

The successes achieved, the realism of our prospects and the growing effectiveness of the political educational work justify our conviction that the fall elections will turn into an expression of great confidence for the policy of the CPCZ and for the National Front by the working people.

Past decades have shown clearly and convincingly what power the working people wield when they work for the goals of building socialism in unity and harmony under the leadership of the communist party. At the same time, this fact testifies to the usefulness of the National Front not only in the past and the present but also in the future.

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

PRESENT CONDITIONS IN SLOVAKIA DESCRIBED

Bonn DEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German No 33, 13 Aug 76 p 7

[An article by Inge Sautner]

[Text] The country in the foothills of the High Tatra Mountains was once a small piece of the Balkans. But today it presents itself with an industry, progress, and environmental problems.

Bratislava, August. The 4.3 million Slovaks have finally made it. They stand now as economic equals with equal political rights next to the 9.3 million Czechs who have until now acted as overlords. They succeeded in making the jump from the agricultural backwoods of Czechoslovakia into a modern industrial society. They also succeeded in obtaining the long desired autonomy both on paper and in reality. This makes for pride and belief in progress. For now hardly anybody speaks about the price.

The Slovaks--that much can be said from an economic viewpoint without exaggeration--are the big winners among all the people of Eastern Europe who in Yalta came under the Soviet sphere of influence. Their country serves as a show piece of the progress which can be achieved under the hammer and sickle. The childish Marxist belief in the all powerful plan fulfillment, centralized management and proletarian solidarity has come true at least at first sight.

History has played a grim game with the old heartland of the Great Moravian Empire. In the 10th century the Slovaks came under the Hungarian yoke. The harsh Hungarian rule lasted a full 1000 years interrupted only by the gruesome invasions of the Mongols and the Turks. Not even the eventual membership in the Austrian monarchy was of any help. At the collapse of the Hapsburg empire at the end of World War I, Slovakia was one of the most backward regions of Europe characterized by illiteracy, a high rate of emigration, and a low standard of living.

It remained backward also during the first Czechoslovak republic. The founding of the CSSR saved the Slovaks from national death but not from misery. Outside of the cosmopolitan trilingual city of Bratislava on the Danube and of some prosperous communities like Piestany, Nitra, Tren-cin and Banska Bystrica the poor villages were as ever buried in deep mud. The highly developed sister countries of Bohemia and Moravia, which were already in the Central European 20th century, seemed to be thousands of kilometers distant while Slovakia was still deeply stuck in the Balkans and the Middle Ages.

The Prague promises of autonomy were a piece of paper, far removed from reality. The kinship went only as far as the common Slavic language. By their mentality, the Czechs--an industrious people with an industrial tradition effectively imprinted by their German neighbors--had practically nothing in common with the Hungarian influenced Slovaks.

The long overdue leap across the centuries succeeded only after 1945. Under communist pressure the Czechs forced the Slovak backwoodsmen into the present by an unprecedented tour of force. They slaved not only for the Soviet Union and the poorer comrades in the Eastern bloc , for Cuba's Castro (truly a nail in the coffin of the Prague industrial planners) and for many a black potentate in Africa but in addition for the "developing country" within the borders of their own state.

The result is therefore impressive. The loudly proclaimed economic equalization of Slovakia with the rest of the CSSR can be said to have largely been achieved by 1976. The Slovak standard of living is 87 percent of the Czech and in this way has reached its approximate optimum--the still existing discrepancy can be attributed to the large Slovak family size and the lower number of working women. Since 1945, around 350 new or at least completely renovated factories came into being, among them large, technologically relatively well equipped engineering and petrochemical works. For years, no less than 31 percent of all national investments flowed into Slovakia. Industrial expansion there was triple that of Bohemia. Slovakia possesses the only aluminum factory, the only atomic power plant and the only television equipment manufacturing plant in the CSSR. It supplies already 25.6 percent of the industrial product of the CSSR (1937: 7 percent) and 33 percent of the agricultural product (1937: 23 percent). In short, the rigid communist planned economy, highly problematical in the developed areas of the CSSR, doubtlessly had merits in the case of the almost hopeless Slovakia.

In addition, the Slovaks are the large (and only) political winners of the so-called "Prague Spring" which should actually be called the "Bratislava Spring." The then intraparty rebellion against Novotny was unleashed by the leading Slovak functionaries of the communist party and elevated Dubcek as its figurehead. The subsequent Soviet invasion then again brought a Slovak to power--the current party chief and State President Gustav Husak. And he

again made sure that of all the achievements of "communism with a human face" at least one was not rescinded: the Federation Law of 27 October 1968 which created a "Slovak Socialist Republic" as a counterpart to the "Czech Socialist Republic."

The extensive wishes and hopes of the Slovak chauvinists have of course not been fully realized because the Soviets are stubbornly pushing for centralization. In spite of the federation, Prague decides who will invest what and where and also what machine will be bought in which foreign country. The Prague ministries decide also on national affairs. The central government in Prague is empowered to abrogate the laws of the national governments. As an autonomous member state of a centrally governed superstate, Slovakia sees its role as that of a phenomenon full of contradictions which creates ever new ones.

Still, it is a productive phenomenon. It provides thousands of lucrative positions and jobs. In addition to the Federal Assembly, the highest legislative organ, the Czech and Slovak Peoples Parliaments have been in existence since 1 January 1969. The Slovaks are on a number of commissions, committees and subcommittees. Their bureaucracy is flourishing beyond Parkinson's wildest dreams. The many flights between Bratislava and Prague are daily booked to capacity. They unceasingly shuttle back and forth tons of well paid functionaries between the Danube and the Vltava. Because native powers are today at the helm of the Slovak industries, once a Czech domaine.

And last but not least, the Slovaks can take credit for a halfway tolerable climate between party and population. The ever recurring purges among the Dubcek followers were somewhat less Draconian here than in the rest of the CSSR--only 48 "unreliable elements" were, for example, expelled from the 300 member Writers Union. The spying here is more sluggish. As a result the general lethargy is not felt quite as strongly here as in Bohemia.

At the 15th CPCZ Congress in the spring of this year, the highest Bratislava official Jozef Lenart proudly announced "the highest membership count in the history of the Slovak party." But his number of 319,000 members and candidate members hardly made an impression considering that the overall Czechoslovak membership is 1,381 million. It indicated that of the far more than 30 percent Slovaks not even one quarter were party members. Their ambition to become exemplary pupils of socialism-Leninism is apparently only mild. Church, wine and song in not necessarily that sequence are more important to them.

Initiative and cultural elbow-room do not seem to have been completely stifled in Slovakia. The Bratislava publication lists are downright enlightened compared to the ones from Prague. The television commentaries from Bratislava rightly represent the better part of programming of the total combined state television service.

In summary: the Slovakia of 1976 really does not present itself as "backward." Wherever one may travel in the country: factory chimneys pierce the gentle outlines of the fields; power plants harness the rivers which used to overflow their banks every March; new prefabricated housing blocks--oppressively shabby but doubtlessly more comfortable than the picturesque cottages of wood and mud of the past--characterize the settlements. A network of asphalt highways leads all the way into the Tatra Mountains, this alleged "oasis of calm," where the vacationers from the GDR camp in tents upon tents and the paths in the woods are so full of hurrying people that it seems as the Bahnhofstrasse in Zurich on a sale day.

For the Western visitor the dilemma is in almost too much progress. He notes with anguish: here the rush for development has recklessly won and destroyed that from which generations of tourist-conscious (and foreign exchange conscious) inhabitants could have made excellent living. So far, it has not occurred to anybody that the Slovak past--a unique central European open-air museum of Gothic and Renaissance--is more marketable than the latest average industrial product. High in the north, in the little towns formerly inhabited by the Spis [Zips] Germans, walls from the Middle Ages are crumbling. In Bratislava the lovely old water tower is hidden behind an appropriately pompous concrete architecture. And the beautiful Orava--according to a brochure a river so crystal clear that it is a sheer joy for the trout--turns out to be a bubbling brown brew.

A betrayal of the national heritage? Environmental pollution? Satellite cities without infrastructure? Such questions will occupy the next generation of Slovaks. As of now they are fascinated by how marvellously far they have come. The fact that the football stadium in Bratislava, is covered with soot brought by the wind when it blows from the direction of the Dimitrov Chemical Works does not yet make them think twice. Full of unperturbed pride they tell their favorite joke:

The two old friends Jozo and Juro meet on the pompous bridge across the Danube in Bratislava.

"Well, where have you been hiding all this time?" says Jozo. "I haven't seen you in ages."

"I work in Prague as an employee of the Institute for Communications Cybernetics."

"Heavens, in what capacity? You are a shoemaker by trade."

"In the capacity of a Slovak. The Institute did not have one yet."

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

DIRECTOR KOCI REVIEWS ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF NATIONAL THEATER

Prague TRIBUNA in Czech No 36, 1 Sep 76 p 10

[Interview with the Director of the National Theater, Prof Premysl Koci by Miroslava Kunova: "The Foremost Czech Stage"]

[Text] It was and will always remain that.... Despite the existence of more than 30 theaters in Prague, this unreproduceable architectonic and artistic gem which is the National Theater captivates not only our eyes, but also our sentiments.... The Director of the National Theater, Prof Premysl Koci, a meritorious artist, has known his theater for many years.... He can, therefore, tell a lot about it....

[Question] Comrade Koci, when we glance at the history we find that the creative expansion of the National Theater was accompanied by great actors: Mosna, Vojan, Hana Kvapilova and others.... Can you--as an actor and opera singer--tell us which became your favorites?

[Answer] To name two or three would mean, in this context, doing some injustice to others. The National Theater had many splendid opera singers, actors, conductors, directors and dancers in the past. In each phase of my activity in the National Theater I, therefore, learned from different persons depending upon the problems which were of particular importance for me at a particular point of my own development. I have had to perform various tasks as an actor, opera singer and director during my association with the National Theater. On top of that I have also assumed managing duties now. This certainly is a wide range of activities.

[Question] What about the contemporary situation? What do you think of the present ensembles of the National Theater?

[Answer] Undoubtedly, we had and have now great performers in all our ensembles. It is no secret that since I became director in 1969 all ensembles underwent major changes--ideological, cultural, political, artistic and, last but not least, also generation changes. Through systematic work of all decisive factors--particularly by the continuous

education of personnel and incessant recruitment of new members--we are approaching the long-yearned-for consolidation which should be completed by the end of the current five-year plan and prior to the celebrations of the 100th anniversary of the inauguration of the National Theater.

[Question] The actor's life has fundamentally changed under socialism. Today our actors, dancers and opera singers do not have to go abroad any more to gain recognition.... Our entire country waits for and appreciates their art.... Comrade Koci, how many decorated artists act, dance or sing on the stage of the National Theater and Smetana Theater?

[Answer] The National Theater has been awarded one of the highest decorations of our state--The Order of the Republic. Our ensembles collected state prizes many times and the number of individuals awarded various orders and honorary titles is considerable--from the prominent national artists to those who, by their work, acquired the right to another title or decoration. Let us not forget that among them are not only those who appear on stage--but also many of our fellow-workers in the shops, technical departments and administration.

[Question] What place do young artists occupy in the life of the National Theater? Are they dignified successors of their older colleagues?

[Answer] No theater can get along without young artists--this is a self-evident requirement in view of the nature of parts in operas, plays and ballets. We do everything in our power to recruit sufficient numbers the young people in time. But this is not always easy, not only for artistic reasons alone but also because the housing shortage may complicate the situation.

In the National Theater today, we already have a large number of young artists who undoubtedly are, along the artistic path, dignified successors of their older colleagues and bearers of the tradition of the National Theater. In opera, for example, it is our youngest laureate of the Klement Gottwald state prize, the Slovak soprano Gabriela Benackova who is renowned both at home and abroad as Janacek's Jenufa and Katya Kabanova, a popular Marenka [in Smetana's Bartered Bride] and Rusalka [in Dvorak's opera of the same name]. It is also Libuse Marova in numerous mezzosoprano parts and Jana Jonasova in coloratura parts, particularly in the Mozart and Strauss operas which already brought her many laurels abroad.

In ballet we look with hope at the development of Hana Vlacilova who was awarded a silver medal in Japan earlier this year, of Jana Kurova who got a gold medal in Geneva--of Michaela Cerna and Lubomir Kafka who, after completing studies in the department of dance at the conservatory in Prague, have just returned from a 1-year graduate course in Leningrad.

In drama there are several young actors who drew considerable attention in the roles they recently created. Among them, for example, are one of the youngest actresses T. Medvecká, the talented Petr Svojtka, Jiri Stepnicka or Sylva Turbova, Jana Bouskova, Zuzana Savrdova and Helga Cockova....

[Question] Comrade Koci, your words will certainly comfort all lovers of fine arts. Can you tell us which works staged by the National Theater you regard as the most successful at home or abroad and which works proved to be the most popular with our audiences?

[Answer] The selection is rather extensive and the answer to this question will become clear during the course of our interview. On the basis of strict statistical data on attendance and the number of repeated performances, I could say that this applies to two-thirds of our repertoire. The audience shows great interest in most of our activities regardless of whether it is a classic or contemporary domestic production or the best works of world literature and art. When performing abroad we usually present works of domestic origin because the preciseness of our interpretation can best be reflected precisely there.

[Question] Where has the National Theater performed so far?

[Answer] There is almost no country in Europe today in which all three ensembles of the National Theater have not performed--from three appearances of the opera and drama ensembles in the Soviet Union to France and Spain in western Europe and from the Scottish metropolis Edinburgh and London in the north to Sofia, Naples and Athens in the south of our continent. As to the number of successful performances abroad, the National Theater has been virtually without competition in the last decade.

[Question] There is an old saying about the "boards which mean the world." Let me ask you a frivolous question: is this saying still valid today?

[Answer] It is valid and will be valid so long as theater remains theater--precisely because of its capacity to depict and mirror events regardless of the place, time and social stratum in which they take place.

[Question] What has changed in the National Theater recently? People often think that the theater cannot face any problems--that it is only "entertainment..."

[Answer] As any other place of work, every theater, including the National Theater, naturally has its own problems some of which are very important and far-reaching. I have already mentioned the necessity of continuous and careful changes in the artistic ensembles and technical personnel.

The plan for necessary reconstruction of theater buildings confronts us with extraordinary problems. After the beautifully restored Smetana theater was turned over to the public and us in 1973, we started to work on the reconstruction plan for the National Theater in which the coming season will be the last one. In addition, the Tyl Theater has already been temporarily closed once and will be closed again for a short time for necessary repairs. It is difficult to describe the problems which arise in this connection--this does not only concern the continuity of artistic production, smaller repertoire and an even distribution of

work among artistic and technical personnel, but also creates very, very difficult dislocation problems.

After the already completed evacuation of the so-called National Theater Annex, we do not have enough space for rehearsals and administrative offices. Another problem is the capacity of workshops for sets and costumes. Still another problem is the difficult transportation in Prague (the National Theater has a central warehouse for stage sets outside of the city center), and so on.

When we realize that our ensembles will have to do without one stage at one time or another during the period of the next 8-10 years (after the remodeling of the National Theater is completed, the Tyl Theater must be repaired) and, in addition, the stage for the Laterna Magika must be remodeled, new central warehouses and workshops will have to be built--the management of the National Theater does not have to worry about the lack of troubles....

[Question] Does the life of the theater artist involve some pitfalls? What is generally required of the artist who lives and creates for socialism?

[Answer] For singers, actors as well as dancers the first phase of artistic creativity is an individual study of the assigned part and of the entire play, historical background and social environment of the play, the understanding of the ideological importance, and so on. Then follow the actual collective rehearsals which occupy the artist for approximately 2-3 months both in the morning and in the afternoon. Frequently, rehearsals take place also in the evening if they do not interfere with the respective actors' participation in an evening performance. These performances, however, must not be disturbed by the study of a new production. Then follow the final rehearsals--including the dress rehearsal--and the premiere. But even when the new production is completed and the premiere takes place, the work on it goes on. Experience leads to changes and corrections and rehearsals must take place with artists who join the production after its premiere. Well, a National Theater member does not know what regular, precisely defined "office hours" are.

[Question] Do the theater performers participate in the life of our society? Do they commit themselves on behalf of the socialist society?

[Answer] Yes, they do. Strictly artistic tasks are not the only feature of their lives. Members of the National Theater very intensively participate in the life of our society. For the work of our artists and other personnel in brigades, the National Theater was awarded the highest honorary title on the 30th anniversary of Czechoslovakia's liberation by the Soviet army.... We have various conferences, evaluation of production and sets, schooling, party and trade union meetings and meetings of the SCSP [Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship League].... In accordance with the mission of the National Theater, our prominent members perform also many extracurricular artistic tasks--many of them help in the education of the new generations of artists at art schools of all grades.

[Question] Elections will take place soon. How does the National Theater get ready for them?

[Answer] We have a representative even in the Central Election Commission--national artist Milada Subrtova. And all soloists are again ready by artistic work and cultural brigades--as is always the case in connection with important events--to contribute to the dignified course of elections.

[Question] Comrade Koci, the 15th CPCZ Congress emphasized more ambition in all spheres of our life. How is this emphasis reflected in the activities of the National Theater ensembles?

[Answer] We are initiating a new program for the National Theater which corresponds to its mission in socialist Czechoslovakia and the related concepts of individual artistic ensembles as well as the appropriate dramaturgic plans geared toward the celebration of the 100th anniversary of the inauguration of the National Theater.

[Question] Is everything all right in theatrical production, primarily from the standpoint of ideology and artistic standards?

[Answer] No, by no means. There is still a lack of good contemporary plays corresponding to the ideological needs of broad masses of our society. The plays should be not only artistically ambitious, but also engrossing in the best sense of this term. We want and must further improve and enforce discipline in artistic work and set ever higher artistic goals for ourselves which must be implemented conscientiously and with responsibility. The conditions in the theater are by no means easier than in some important industrial plant which tries to develop and manufacture products of the highest possible quality.

[Question] Has the National Theater fulfilled its commitments assumed in the honor of the 15th CPCZ Congress?

[Answer] On the basis of our commitment we staged, in time and according to the plan, three new productions dedicated to the congress. It was the opera Fidelio with its highly humanistic content so topical today; the Soviet ballet Spartakus by Aram Khachaturian whose plot is still pertinent to our times struggling with the oppression of the working people on many fronts; finally, the first Kazakh play on our stage "Day After Night" which was produced in cooperation with the Soviet artists. Moreover, the artists of the National Theater notably surpassed their pledges in the pre-congress brigades which reached a remarkable number--527 actions representing 21,893 hours....

[Question] Comrade Koci, what surprises does the National Theater have in store for its patrons during the coming season?

[Answer] In the drama department we are preparing the premieres of the following plays: "The Bourgeois"; "The Court of Love"; "Romeo and Juliet"; "Do Not Shoot White Swans"; an original new play by M. Stieber "The Last Vacation"; and "Fidlovacka." The opera is preparing "La Boheme," "Ariadne auf Naxos," "Viva la Mamma" and "The Makropulos Affair," in addition to the revival of "The Queen of Spades" and a new production of "The House of the Dead" in connection with Janacek's year. The ballet department is preparing the premiere of a new ballet by Jiri Pauer, "Ferda the Ant" while the second title is yet to be determined. The repertoire will be sufficiently augmented by new titles so that our theater-goers will have a wide opportunity of making a choice according to their taste.

[Question] The National Theater is visited by people from our entire country--culture has literally become the property of all people. Comrade Krejci, we think that the best thing we can wish the National Theater is: love, respect and infinite admiration of our working people--the citizens of the CSSR.

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DEPUTY GROUND FORCES COMMANDER INTERVIEWED ON TRAINING

East Berlin VOLKSARMEE in German No 37, 6 Sep 76 pp 4-5

[Article by Maj Gen Werner Winter, deputy commander of ground forces and chief of training: "As if We Were Going Into Combat"]

[Text] The VA discussion "effective-intensive" has raised many questions about our everyday military routine which are aimed at achieving an even higher level of training. I believe these are questions and answers worthy of careful thought. There were seven rounds of discussion focusing on the manifold experiences of members and instructors of our army, but in which reserves also appeared. Questions as well as answers showed how stratified and directly linked everything is that is connected with the words "effective" and "intensive." And neither of the two words stands alone. To train more intensively means, above all, to arrange the training program more effectively, with minimum input of forces, material, costs and time. Major Schmidt, in his article "What Takes Time, What Costs Time" in VA 29/76, describes this relationship very clearly. Our military class mission demands that it always be borne in mind. At the same time, however, the great responsibility which the party assigned us in its program is reflected in it. How seriously we take this responsibility is measured solely by the results of political-ideological work and combat training, by the state of combat readiness.

In the discussion conducted by VOLKSARMEE, I see a point of departure for numerous new deliberations in the command organs and training collectives of the units. Thus, a summarization in the true sense is out of the question. Therefore, proceeding at times from a reader's point of view, I will sum up those experiences previously accumulated within the scope of the ground forces relating to the seven questions and which we consider worthy of generalization. Thus, many a comrade--whether named or not--who took part in the discussions will find an answer to problems on which he expressed a view.

1. More Advantage Through Preparation for Duty? (VA 30/76)

I believe, in general, that working by the manual is the most important ingredient in preparing for duty.

Cpl Klaus Schaarschmidt, squad leader in the Knapp unit.

What Corporal Schaarschmidt says is very much to the point. When a superior prepares for a training lesson, the service manual is in the center, the handbook to the left and, to the right, the methodology with the plan of execution. In the manual he finds--let's take the attack--what is characteristic of this main type of combat. He encounters examples in the handbook that make this clear, and the methodology provides the answer to how the training subject is to be handled.

Even if the subjects are repeated three times in 18 months, it is the obligation of the instructor to arrange them to be interesting, instructive and of increasing quality three times. Finally, everything revolves around accomplishing the requirements contained in the service and combat manuals. Together with this, it is suggested that our young officers and noncoms need the experience of the veteran troop commanders and staff officers more urgently than generally indicated. One of the most important tasks, as I see it, is to focus on helping them in systematic courses of instruction, instruction in supervision and duty assignment during instructive-systematic training or personal preparation for duty. It pays to use the most experienced instructors.

2. Mental Attitude Without Influence? (VA 31/76)

I maintain that if the class mission is clear, then everything else is clear too.

Pfc Karl-Heinz Laukner, Hauk unit.

How much truth is contained in these few words of Pfc Karl-Heinz Laukner. Indeed, it is so, and everyone has his own experience with it. Only that which is not understood becomes difficult. But one who clearly understands the purpose of his efforts, to whom the defense of socialism--side by side with soldiers of the Soviet Army and of the other fraternal armies--has become a matter dear to his heart, will more easily put up with the rigors of training, and make sacrifices without hesitation. Thus, in fact, understanding the military class mission formulated by the Ninth SED Congress becomes a source of power. And, finally, it is that for which we strive: this unity of political creed and high military performance.

For us that means that day in day out the soldier must gain experience, above all in tactical training, the heart of combat training, but in all other branches of training as well. We not only assess the adversary as dangerous, we are also prepared for, we are serious about the fact that training time wasted is fighting quality dissipated. This experience will conclusively decide his own attitude to military exigencies, will give to him the assurance he needs to master himself again and again.

Everything we do--in this I am in full agreement with Lt Ralf Masuch--is measured by whether we stand the test in combat.

3. Training Attractive Enough for Innovators? (VA 32/76)

The work of the innovator becomes effective only if handicaps and one's own ideas merge into an enduring totality.

Captain Walter, leader of an innovator collective in the Paul-Hegenbarth Caserne.

This makes it clear: Anyone who believes--as heard here and there--that the plan is superfluous is in error. That would contradict the demand of the minister at the 10th SED Conference of Delegates that the main thing is to solve every task confronting us not at just any expense but at the least. What we need is a plan that builds on profound knowledge of the training process, that is real and that directs the attention of the innovator, above all, to the improvement of the quality of combat training and, in doing so, takes into account much more intensively the possibilities of its later application. The ideas of the innovator should be directed especially to testing particular methods of training: how they can be perfected; how present teaching aids and apparatus can be employed with more purpose; how experiences of the "regiment next door" can be applied; how the squad and platoon leaders can provide training situations to test competence that more closely simulate combat. Every intelligent idea that aids in gaining skill and in learning more in 1 hour than in 2 is, in this sense, an innovator's proposal without always having to be put on paper and presented to the MMM. What is decisive is its usefulness for training.

4. Methodical Skill in Training Versus Wasted Effort? (VA 33/76)

Anyone who allows wasted effort is admitting that his soldiers are insufficiently prepared for combat. That endangers the mission. That endangers the life of every individual. Who wants to take the responsibility for that? With methodical skill alone little is done.

Sgt Juergen Paschy, chief of section in the Paetz battery.

Although I do not underestimate methodical skill, the basic prerequisite for eliminating wasted effort is to organize the entire training process as it would be in combat. That means, first of all, to explain the exercise, how the training objective is to be attained. The instructor intellectually anticipates the impending training, thinks over the requirements that have to be taken into consideration for the subject, as well as previously accumulated experiences, how he wants to include situations from previous 6-month periods and create testing situations. He estimates what can have an effect on the training and makes his decision as to which means and methods he will use to attain his goal. Time plays an important role in this. In the Pekruhl Company (see VA 29/76) it was disregarded and that alone resulted in wasted effort. If guarantee of combat lasts, say "training." All of our experiences indicate that whether or not training is efficient and without

wasted effort depends to a large extent on whether the required training equipment and materials were available in combat-ready condition and in sufficient quantities. And then, as in combat, the soldier himself will show initiative in training, too, and guard against wasted effort if he knows why a certain action is to be performed in a prescribed sequence and time, if he understands that it is a question of anticipating the adversary, of being superior to him.

5. Is Talent Necessary To Stimulate Competition in Training? (VA 34/76)

By referring to the seriousness of his duties and by showing with his aid to his comrades how seriously he takes them himself.

Cpl Wolfgang Rathke, commandant.

To conduct competition--Corporal Rathke implied this--is not primarily a question of talent. In my opinion, it is, above all, a question of the seriousness with which competitive duties are undertaken and fulfilled, and the instructor's talent in creating the necessary prerequisites for its fulfillment. As far as the instructor is concerned, this begins with preparation for duty. He knows the performance status of the soldiers; he knows their projects. He plans what the individual must attain and determines in advance who is helping with it. To illustrate by way of example, he will distribute the soldiers with the most experience in the armored close combat section as the attackers and the inexperienced as the security patrol. Later, he will exchange the two so that the young comrade has to deal with his own assignment but, at the same time, learns from the other and in him has an assistant instructor. The superior will create possibilities for comparison to enable him to evaluate and stimulate by having several such details of two or three men act, always intent that the tasks undertaken are fulfilled step by step within the training period and directed by him.

6. Does Mock Combat in Training Depend on Good Ideas? (VA 35/76)

Mock combat, in my opinion, always has something to do with fitness. In my capacity as section chief I have to plan in such a factor directly.

SSgt Dieter Perzig, section chief in the Huth unit.

But to plan in such factors of fitness of which Sergeant Perzig speaks means, above all, finding and utilizing the possibilities inherent in the training material--and, to be sure, at the time of preparation for duty. Many of the best instructors, therefore, justifiably pose the question: Does not mock combat also produce a brief, clear and significant representation of the tactical situation? Is not the approach of the instructor, in keeping with the situation, as he arranges his assignments and gives his orders, as he moves about, also a part of mock combat? Does not mock combat also mean making one's own fire effect so evident through inputs that other parts of the combat order decide to conduct the thrust into the flanks and rear

of the adversary or to introduce another maneuver? Is it not mock combat if I make use of my own firepower consistently and take into account the reaction of the adversary? Is not mock combat hard challenges and a heavy load on every individual?

All of our experiences prove that the more the soldier lives within the situation, the more consciously he will apply his own powers to attain the training goal. Simulated means, whether detonators, blanks, or smoke, only serve in the final analysis to render the combat situation more realistic.

7. Useful Experiences Applicable Everywhere? (VA 36/76)

If good experiences are useful to training, then no great amount of talk is helpful to me as an officer. I have to see to it that they are generalized.

Capt Eckhard Volkmann, company commander in the "Kurt Roemling" unit.

Captain Volkmann implies with these words that it cannot be left to the individual alone or to chance whether or not good experiences are sought out and evaluated. To investigate them thoroughly and generalize from them, I see, above all, as a leadership task confronting every commander and superior--an element of leadership skill. That demands close collaboration with the party and FDJ [Free German Youth] collectives. Proceeding from the point of main effort, it requires making well-focused comparisons among the instructors, following up in the training area itself--during tactical or firing training--the manner in which they interpret the assignment in order to learn who among them proceeds most expediently. But that also demands reacting quickly and demonstrating what stands the test--not just talking about it.

This also holds completely true for the great wealth of experience of our Soviet comrades-in-arms. Duty preparation is best suited for this.

Another effective form of quickly conveying experiences is controlled instruction. The commander appears as instructor. Platoon leaders and company commanders take part and learn what is expected of them. I see a third possibility in incorporating useful experiences in training demonstrations with the objective of presenting the best to others--often going beyond the company or battalion. A commander's advancing the use of an experience to a command in order to generalize it, to put it into effect, should not be ruled out here.

In conclusion I see proof in the numerous constructive responses to "effective-intensive" that there is no lack of readiness for real, well-focused and conscious cooperation by the majority of the members of the army in the formation of combat training and in the solution of all political, military and military-economic tasks. To utilize them even better in the future than in the past must be one of the principal lessons that we have to draw in evaluating the discussion conducted by VOLKSARMEE. But I especially want to impress this evaluation on the leadership organs and instructors.

I see the fundamental goal of a still more effective and intensive combat training--and all further considerations should be concentrated on this--in raising the unity of the units, especially the platoons.

The necessary increase in fighting power and combat readiness manifests itself in these units. By that I mean not only tactical unity. What is involved here is, above all, how consciously the soldier approaches his assignments, how productively he cooperates, how skillfully he masters his weapon and fighting techniques, how high his physical and mental capacity is, how he has learned to subordinate himself without contradiction to his superior's authority, and last but not least how socialist relationships are defined in the combat collectives. Those are the basic prerequisites for acting in a tactically united fashion in combat and for attaining the unity of strengthened companies and battalions. To what extent we have succeeded in this training year will be shown by the impending final exercises.

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CSO: 2300

EAST GERMANY

SPIEGEL REPORTS ON PROBLEMS OF GDR STUDENTS

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German Vol 30 No 41, 4 Oct 76 pp 67-68, 70-71

[Text] He is supposed to distinguish himself "through love of work and defense preparedness," he is to be capable of "creative thinking and independent action," he is to master "great and complicated tasks" and he is to be able to find "answers to the issues of our time and about the meaning of life."

That is the profile of the ideal GDR school graduate according to the new SED program: an "all-around personality" who, thanks to "an image of the world based on Marxism-Leninism," will unfold its "abilities and talents for the benefit of socialist society."

As they drone on endlessly, the Unity Party Socialists--who have just proclaimed the "construction of communism"--betray the basic contradiction in all systems of state socialism: agitators must report, front and center, first and foremost, the teachers, because the "new man" still remains to emerge from somewhere in spite of the revolution in ownership conditions.

In the GDR, there are 200,000 persons whose mission it is to bring their charges in line with the model devised by the party in power. For the 2.6 million school children between the Baltic and the Thuringian Forest, that means above all stress. "These new requirements are going to gobble up our last little bit of free time," an East Berlin mother blurted out when Chancellor Helmut Schmidt, on West Berlin television, talked about the intolerable performance pressure at West German teaching institutions.

In point of fact, East Germany's educators were always very inventive when it came to figuring out new burdens to be placed on the shoulders of the students. And the trend to keep the GDR pupils under supervision if possible around the clock is being stepped up to the same degree to which the Republic's economic problems spill over into the everyday lives of the citizens. The further GDR reality moves away from the communist blueprint for the future," a government economist trained along the lines of Hegel and Marx expressed his fears, "the more bluntly do they try to pass off something that is bare necessity as the 'realm of freedom' in our schools."

People such as Sigrid Zitzke, for example, the lady principal of East Berlin's "Dr Kurt Fischer High School," has already personally oriented her efforts toward a crash program in communist education. The party's grand goal demands even more than in the past and that means that "every student must, in class and at home, be assigned those tasks which will require him to give his all," primarily however this means "gaining even better control of the time spent away from school."

While the educators keep demanding "sufficient time" for themselves for the sake of thorough preparation of every lecture hour" (lady Principal Zitzke), they drive the students from competition to competition: classes compete with each other "for high participation in edible milk supply" and for "best results in scrap collections"; they "struggle" to achieve titles such as "area of exemplary order, security, and cleanliness" or "best basic unit of the GST" (Society for Sports and Technology which among other things is responsible for premilitary training for GDR youth).

Every student is supposed to participate in the "76 treasure hunt"--organized by the "Ernst Thaelmann" Pioneer Organization--if possible even during vacation times. The treasures were described by Pioneer lady boss Helga Labs: "Useful activities--connected with beautifying the camp, building new playgrounds and athletic fields, or collecting forest fruits." The moment they get back from their vacations, the students are supposed to earn the marksmanship badge at the sponsoring army unit (as in Senftenberg), they are supposed to take care of park land or they are to improve the close-in recreation centers (as in Treuenbrietzen in the Maerkisch section).

"We are not overlooking the fact that there are still children who as of now do not belong to any working team or group," muttered recently the school principals at the "V. I. Lenin High School" in Treuenbrietzen; in other words, they prove themselves neither as "young agitators" nor as "young natural researchers" nor do they take care of school gardens or help the farmers at the sponsoring LPG.

It goes without saying that such activities must not impair the learning results. Maximum achievements and the best possible grades are considered the priority education objective in the GDR; this is something which not only the teachers keep hammering into the students. In Guteborn, for example, forest construction team leader Guenter Strehle regularly visits "his" school class to give the younger generation a pep talk, such as, for instance: "We are struggling daily to fulfill the plan" and "it is part of your honorable position as Pioneers and FDJ members that you must not be satisfied with average results."

But far more than such moral preachments, there are restrictions on admissions to the EOS [expanded secondary school], leading to the high school diploma, and these restrictions create a situation in which 14-year-olds already, according to an East Berlin doctor, "exhausted themselves to the limits of their capacity" in order to achieve a grade average of at least 2.0. Nervous freshmen, neurotic pupils, heart failure in 7th and 8th-grade students increasingly worsen the record of a school system which can

claim that it has radically done away with the old bourgeois education privileges and that it has implemented the ten-class school for everybody.

This destructive performance-oriented pressure is a matter of increasing concern to critical GDR education researchers. Their objections are aimed less against the fact that the SED exploits school education as an essential power instrument; instead, their criticisms are directed against the manner in which this power is exercised. "The dialectical scrutinizing of the content of education," complains a Potsdam educator in a confidential paper intended for a group of like-thinking individuals, "has long ago yielded to standardization and forced adaptation of our children" and allegedly leads to "the destruction of student personalities."

The judgment of another author of the circular is no less harsh: the socialist school "completely denies the countless contradictions between ideological demand and social reality" and "with its affirmative performance pressure, increasingly" resembles "a capitalist factory."

A required schedule of 42 hours for 13-year-old children in the 7th class is considered normal. Anybody who cannot keep up or who pulls the class average down with his poor grades--well, for that student, the socialist educator requests "transfer" to one of the 566 auxiliary and special schools. About 75,000 children, almost 3 percent of the school-age children, have presently been segregated from the regular schools. They get teaching contracts as infrequently as those who leave the general school prematurely. "This group," said a rural teacher from the Mecklenburg area sarcastically, "is included in the plan for the day-laborer class."

But even those who achieve brilliant learning results up to the EOS preparatory step (the 9th and 10th classes) has hardly more than one option on the direct road to the high school diploma and university. "High student performance," says East Berlin education professor, Helmut Weck, is "a necessary condition but it is not an adequate condition for selection."

Weck's profile for the future "leaders of socialist society" is somewhat cruder because it is independent of the actual performance. Accordingly:

the "share of worker and peasant children" must be in keeping with the "population structure";

"territorial infrastructural peculiarities" must be taken into consideration;

students must "be ready to devote themselves with their entire personality to the defense of our gains against imperialist attacks"; and

[they must] display "behavioral qualities" which "come extensively close to the standards of coexistence in socialist society."

Thus the GDR teachers keep manipulating selection criteria undismayed and the pupils and parents at least quickly grasp one thing: that the

"equality claim of 'real socialism' is a lot of bunk" (according to an embittered father). Here is an example from an actual incident at an East Berlin high school: a girl had assured herself of EOS admission candidacy because of her above-average achievements. Then two other students were transferred into her class from another part of the city and the coed's parents found out that, according to the internal school plan, only two boys would be "delegated" to the step leading to the high school diploma.

East Germany's educators willingly helped in turning out the most perfect possible subjects: anybody who fails to play the role prescribed for him or her must justify himself or herself before the class as a whole; anybody who doubts the party's dogmas gets poorer grades; anybody who prefers the New Testament over the Communist Manifesto is at least the target of mockery by the entire class; and anybody who goes so far as to rebel actively is made to stand in the corner as "rowdy" or as "hostile element."

The Potsdam school critics have described one of the most fatal consequences of this kind of standardization method: "the student is not to experience tolerance and patience toward those who think differently and also toward weaker individuals as value categories"; the educational goal is supposed to be "desensitization toward minorities."

Even the teacher in a class of beginners is hardly able to judge the pupils in a neutral manner. The kindergartens--which are attended by 82 percent of children between the ages of 3 and 6--already supply him with a "final evaluation" in the form of a questionnaire. Here the teacher is briefed on the strong points and weak points of the individual pupil and he finds out about the child's degree of adaptation to a reference person and to the group--and he also learns about the opinions being held by the parents at home.

Party-lining and efficiency-oriented female kindergarten teachers were chagrined over the fact that some teachers nevertheless decide to be unbiased and refuse to acknowledge such labels: "at the interface between kindergarten and the school we are certainly losing some reserves in terms of training and education," the East Berlin lady educator Susanne Kempfe reasoned recently--and was met with applause from the SED central journal NEUES DEUTSCHLAND.

There is at least one thing which no teacher, in the papers forwarded from the preschool level, must overlook if he does not want to jeopardize his own career: the functions and party membership of the parents. "The kids of the bigshots always manage to get through," so goes a rule of thumb in the guild of educators. Again and again, university professors in their seminars run into the offspring of higher-ranking officials who can neither spell nor have a command of grammar but who somehow turn up with a high school diploma average of 1.0.

In case of doubt, the talented daughter of a worker without any party affiliations is then at a disadvantage when an EOS space must be made available for the less intelligent son of a deputy GDR minister. The manipulation involved in grading is made easier by so-called working groups in which

as many as four students at a time write essays together or prepare reports. A 15-year-old East Berlin coed learned the following in this process: "The mix is always such that you have to do an awful lot of cramming to get an EOS space while the kids of the bigshots walk off with good grades."

The party's support also flows to the schools through other channels. Thus there is the unwritten law that, from the 5th class onward, the members of the PTAs--referred to as "parent aktifs"--should be SED members. If this involves an influential comrade, then they "sometimes force a colleague out," according to a teacher from Rostock, "if he happened to have judged sonnyboy according to the same criteria."

The students, frequently the children of officials, are quite alert to this kind of injustice: "I have three pairs of 'Adidas' soccer shoes in my closet," said the son of a Central Committee department head indignantly, "and my friend cannot buy any at all, anywhere." And the student who is accustomed, as 16-year old, to be able to choose between "Levis" and "Wrangler" jeans and who is driven to school in his father's official "Foreign Trade Ministry Volvo," has his very own thoughts about his teacher's lectures regarding the dividing line involved in this situation.

NEUES DEUTSCHLAND recently admonished the comrade teachers that especially "after vacation time, there is always a logjam of questions on burning political issues." That is sufficient reason for collecting conforming phrases on border provocations and pastor burnings in all classes during the very first days of school. The children equipped themselves for this, in keeping with their duties, by selecting pertinent quotations from the "Documents" of the Ninth SED Congress. "After that," reports a coed EOS candidate from an enlightened home, "the stuff is filed away again."

"Our children," a Potsdam sociologist feared, "are constantly in danger of becoming fork-tongued cynics." And they turn into that particularly where the East German schools are far ahead of the West German schools: in the area of realistic "polytechnical education." As the students are assigned to production jobs in a state enterprise, at work benches and assembly lines, they learn what life in the GDR is really like and they find out that it consists of hard and frequently miserably paid work. And they meet a working class which, according to a Magdeburg educator, they henceforth "can no longer identify with any agitation cliché."

It is especially the EOS teachers who observe that their students, after these stints in the job world, frequently make trouble in terms of discipline. The term "UTP"--the abbreviation for "instruction day in production"--they henceforth translate with "difference between theory and practice."

The discussion of the contradictions which these students experience however continues to be undesired here. Many GDR students therefore, if at all, express themselves on this matter at home or only toward good friends in a manner critical of the system especially since only a small minority is in a position to back up their views which deviate from "real socialism" (SED formula) with quotations from Marx.

For most of them, school days end with what sociologists from the circle of Potsdam critics call the "submersion effect" of GDR national education: the former schoolboys instantaneously reduce their political activities to lip service and to formal membership in mass organizations.

"After 30 years we once again have the class-oriented school," said a prominent expert on the GDR school scene with resignation. "It depoliticizes, it educates in conformity, and it reproduces the ruling caste." The latter of course "is still very, very small compared to the West German bourgeoisie."

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CSO: 2300

FRG PAPER REPORTS JOB MOBILITY, VOCATIONAL CHOICE PROBLEMS IN GDR

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG in German 28 Sep 76 pp 9-10

[Article by Axel Schnorbus: "That Is Permitted Which Suits the State"]

[Text] A tedious search of one of the latest weekend editions of the THUERINGISCHE LANDESZEITUNG yields two job wanted advertisements, in minute type and intermingled with marriage advertisements ("countrywoman") and offers for sale of a saddle and 5 hundredweights of wheat. It is more than difficult to find a new job in the German Democratic Republic by way of a newspaper advertisement. Every advertisement must be approved and centrally placed by the Dewag agency. While the law does not prohibit job changes, they are frowned upon. The all-powerful bureaucracy puts all kinds of small but troublesome obstacles in the path of employees seeking a change.

The reason is the fact that undue mobility of labor might disrupt the painfully achieved manpower balance and, in addition, produce "fluctuation losses" which are believed to be insupportable in view of the lack of manpower persisting as the result of the great East-West migration in the period 1949-1961. Instead it is considered that the labor factor must be totally utilized.

In general that goal has been achieved: Although the population of working age has declined by more than 1.9 million in the last 25 years, the number of employees has risen by 700,000 in the same period. That was possible only because even the last reserves were mobilized. The GDR is likely to hold first place with respect to the employment of women, and even pensioners have reentered the labor market to an appreciable extent. The GDR has virtually achieved its aim to have at work all the people able to hold a job. At the same time their other aim, that is to use all workers as efficiently as possible in the labor process, has receded into the far distance.

That is so because the rigid steering mechanism practically paralyzes all efforts toward a more flexible labor market policy. Many state enterprises operate inefficiently, employ far too many personnel who are frequently not even employed in accordance with their qualifications. In their study

"Comparative Educational System," compiled for the Federal Education Ministry in Bonn, the American consultants Booz, Allen and Hamilton quote GDR studies according to which only about half of the job slots are staffed with people holding the appropriate qualifications. A third is underqualified, and quite a few jobs are in fact held by overqualified personnel.

At the same time the central planning system produces malfunctions which are disastrous not only from the aspect of the national economy: Individuals also tend to be dissatisfied with their professional lives. GDR specialized literature does not hide this fact. Many studies have been published, for example, showing that fluctuations have assumed dangerous proportions in some enterprises and combines. Yet, on the whole, the rate of fluctuation is much lower in the GDR than in the Federal Republic, if for no other reason than the inability of enterprises to take the initiative in attracting new personnel. Enterprises need state approval to go direct to the public, and in most cases even then are restricted to appeals to people who are not working. The law forbids the dismissal of any employee, although this is of no great account given the lack of manpower.

The housing situation is another considerable obstacle to the mobility of labor. "Offer two-room apartment in Magdeburg, want similar apartment in Erfurt," this and similar advertisements are to be found in their hundreds in the daily papers. Without such an exchange it is virtually impossible to move and, therefore, change one's job to another, possibly in another bezirk. To shorten the long wait for their own home, many young couples therefore decide to accept "voluntary" reconstruction hours. The THUERINGISCHE LANDESZEITUNG calls them "building aspirants" in a report from such a construction project. The enterprise providing the finance for the project calls for 1,800 working hours to be contributed "outside normal working hours" by the young workers aiming for a two-room apartment. As a result "many vacations, weekends and evenings are spent wielding a trowel," the newspaper sums up, at the same time praising the commitment of the plant which thereby has "laid the foundation" for its "future permanent personnel."

The mere fact that job dissatisfaction is actually under discussion leads to the presumption that discontent is greater than observers had previously thought. Especially school students and apprentices appear to complain of their job expectations. Booz, Allen and Hamilton quote a GDR study which states that more than half the apprentices for some occupations had originally wanted to learn other skills. Not surprisingly the DEUTSCHE LEHRERZEITUNG [German Teachers Newspaper], the official organ of the Ministry for Public Education, deploras the "lack of understanding" in the upper grades of the polytechnical secondary schools for "subordinating personal preferences to total societal interests."

While every juvenile has the right, guaranteed by the constitution, to choose an occupation to suit his preferences, this right is subject to the clause "in accordance with social requirements." These "requirements" are so powerful that the road to the future occupation is mapped out already during the

years at school. Anyone wishing to attend the expanded secondary school in order to attend college later on, must produce well above average results by the eighth grade. In the GDR the struggle for good grade averages is merciless, and it begins early and sometimes results in positively hair raising injustices. Workers and farmers children continue to receive preferential treatment.

However, compared to the educational system in the Federal Republic the polytechnical secondary schools have the advantage of familiarizing their students much earlier and more thoroughly with their future work environment. Specialized knowledge and awareness of what the future job involves are provided quite extensively, and schools and enterprises closely cooperate in this instruction. The reason is that the enterprises, on the basis of their long-range plans, have already ascertained their future manpower needs and handed over the figures to the competent state agencies. There these figures are consolidated and combined with the expected figure of school leavers in a "balance of vocational training." The vocational guidance agencies organize their work in accordance with this balance and therefore--in contrast to the Federal Republic--exercise directional functions. The Booz, Allen and Hamilton study quoted previously says that the measures adopted by these vocational guidance organs represent "a one-sided solution of the conflict" with respect to those young people whose job preferences run counter to economic requirements.

Yet even for college students the free choice of profession and job is no more than fiction. As per the graduate order of 1971, all students are obligated after graduation to work "wherever they are sent on the basis of the state plan."

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CSO: 2300

EAST GERMANY

BRIEFS

POLITICAL EDUCATION--The SED is apparently not satisfied with the "political consciousness" of GDR students. In the most recent issue of the periodical FORSCHUNG LEHRE PRAXIS, Prof Hans-Joachim Boehme, GDR minister for advanced and technical school affairs, called for a "further development of the socialist awareness on the part of all those connected with advanced schools," particularly the students. He designated the "improvement of educational work" as a prerequisite for "raising the political consciousness of student youth." The priority task set by Boehme for advanced school teachers was to "achieve an even greater educational effectiveness in developing the socialist attitude of students and of new scientific talents toward study and toward their future work." This task sets "new standards for the scientific, ideological, and pedagogical qualifications of all advanced school teachers" and also "elevates their role as political, moral models." According to Boehme, in the future "a great deal of attention" is to be devoted to training "new scientific talents who are highly qualified politically and technically." [Excerpts] [Bonn IWETAGESDIENST in German 4 Oct p 1]

CSO: 2300

POLAND

BRIEFS

WOMEN'S GROUP, CHILEAN REFUGEES--PAP--At the initiative of the National Council of Polish Women (KRKP), a friendly meeting took place on 24 September 1976 of Chilean refugees with the central and [Warsaw] capital aktiv of the Polish women's movement. At the end the participants adopted a resolution demanding the condemnation and boycott of the fascist government of Chile by all countries and peoples. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 25-26 Sep 76 p 4]

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END